Uighur

The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

563 * 463 177 291

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563 * 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563 * 181 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

563 * 565 793

[21] Katanov-Menges.

Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
231 horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but
342 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
221 country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[436] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
[262] on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221 Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
[618] ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
361 these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

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Triangle

Panoramic view of a typical settlement in the verdant Tekes valley, where cultivation is possible. For the rest there are the grasslands.

The houses in the valley are of log and mud. The summer grazing grounds are on the steep hill at the left.

Triangle

342

[p. 32 (C)]

The snow has come and the nomads must seek other grounds for their flocks.

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Lattimore

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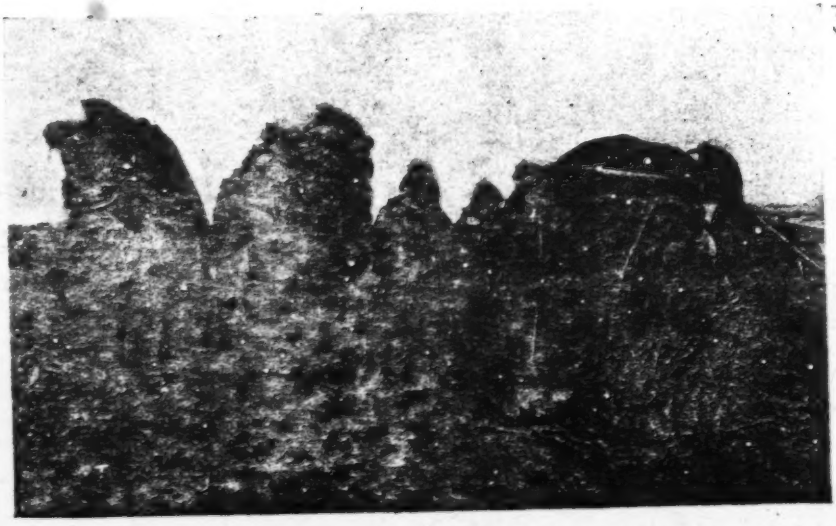

The nomad spends the night in his temporary shelter which he sets up each evening.

[p. 32 (G)]

little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demonstrated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang. 563

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton *kumis,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. But, for one fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia. 262 342 792

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume. 291 301

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

peaches while we watched the sunset glow fade upon rich fields of maize and peas, on cosy little farms nestling under clumps of tall bushy poplars and on warm yellow river-bluffs along the foot of which springs of pure water bubbled up among the meadows.

By mid-day on 18th July the hills on either side of us had sunk to insignificance and we came to a place where the Chinese of former days had built, *more suo*, a wall across the open valley, a wall the ends of which were quite in the air, and which could never have been defensible, even when first built. Here, at a small mediæval-looking fort called Chong (Big) Qaraul, an amiable Chinese Muhammadan *qaraulchi* or barrier officer fed us on melons and apricots on a platform under spreading planes. Before us extended a vast indefinite expanse, pale yellow and brown with wide shadows lying on it where the oases were ; nearest to us, a long line of trees some ten miles away marked Ighiz Yar, our halting-place. We thrilled to think that we were looking upon the great plain of Central Asia, the mighty belt of oasis-fringed desert which stretches for 2,000 miles from Kashgar to the mountains of Inner Mongolia.

Ighiz Yar (" The High Bluff ") proved to be a pleasant stretch of cultivated land dotted with farmsteads of mud-brick joined by leafy lanes down which ran brooks of clear water. Except that the soil was obviously far more fertile—the loess of Kashgaria is as a matter of fact one of the most fertile soils in the world—it might have been a Persian village. Our lodging proved to be a small house near the lower end of the oasis, consisting of one very large room with a raised floor and a large square skylight, and a small windowless room opening out of it. There was a third chamber, but this was not available as the entire family moved into it when we took possession ; as their ingress and egress was through the big room, the privacy of the latter left something to be desired. Our two rooms opened on to a courtyard in which (as the house boasted no garden) our retinue took up their quarters ; they also opened on a cow-byre.

Harding caught us up at Ighiz Yar, and next day all four of us went on together to Yangi Hissar. The (Hindu) British Aqsaqal of the place, a wealthy Shikarpuri banker called Ratan Chand, sent a smart buggy to meet us half-way, and in this D. and I, drawn by the fieriest of Ferghana stallions, performed the rest of the march in what must surely have

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

town by canals [illegible] the water-supply of Yarkand consists solely of the scores of [illegible]agnant ponds dotted all over the city. These are filled up but once a year when the Yarkand river is in flood and they can be replenished with the overflow from the irrigated fields outside the walls; they do not look as if they were ever cleaned out from century to century, though I suppose they must be occasionally.

The countryside round Yarkand is delightful, though perfectly flat and not broken up by streams with high loess bluffs as in the Kashgar oasis. The farmsteads, mills, wayside shrines and village bazaars are built almost entirely of wood, but the houses and barns are not flimsy card-house affairs like their counterparts in the Kashmir Valley; they are solid, comfortable-looking and satisfactory, like old English farmsteads. Everything is old, long-established, peaceful and prosperous; the well-timbered countryside with its broad fields, brimming canals and farms teeming with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, poultry and rosy-cheeked children suggests a kind of Asiatic Holland.

Yarkand is if possible even more "Central Asian" and remote than Kashgar, owing to its greater distance from the Russian frontier and therefore from Europe and "civilization," and an even more astonishing diversity of races is represented in the streets, including the following: Andijanis (Mussulman Russian subjects from Ferghana); Badakhshis (from Afghan Badakhshan); Baltis (from the southern valleys of the Karakoram); Bokharans; Chinese; Chitralis; Dulanis (aboriginals from the Yarkand River valley); Gilgitis (mostly freed slaves or their children); Kanjutis (men of Hunza and Nagar); Kashmiris; Kirghiz; Ladakhis (from Little Tibet); Pathans, Afghan and British; Punjabi Hindus; Punjabi Mussulmans; Shighnis (from Roshan and Shighnan, Upper Oxus); Sindhis (moneylenders from Shikarpur); Tajiks (from the Chinese Pamirs); Tungans (Chinese Muhammadans from N. Sinkiang and Kansu); Turkis; Wakhis (from Wakhan and the valleys of the Hindu Kush).

Of these the Turkis form the great bulk of the population; the Chinese are comparatively few, and are confined to the officials and their hangers-on, a few Tientsin merchants and some petty shopkeepers; the Tungans are mostly traders; Kirghiz and Tajiks come in from the mountains and Dulanis from the down-river marshes. All these are Chinese nationals; the rest are "travellers" or "men from over the mountains" (*dawan-āshti*) *i.e.*, foreigners, of whom the Andijani and Bokharan Russian subjects are represented *vis-à-vis* the Chinese by their own headman or *Aqsaqal*, while the Badakhshis, Baltis, Chitralis, Gilgitis, Kanjutis, Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Pathans, Punjabi Hindus and Muhammadans, and Sindhis look to the British Aqsaqal and his *naibs* or assistants for each community.

Posgam, 11th November, 1922.

We have at last escaped from Yarkand and are bound for the ancient Kingdom of Khotan. Our caravan now consists of the tarantass and four Chinese carts drawn by two horses each (except on marches where the road is heavy with sand, when one or more extra horses are engaged for each cart at a shilling a day each). The hire fixed for each two-horse cart was 20 Kashgar taels or about £3 for the journey to Khotan. The tarantass with our own horses in it we

It is a great place

for the treasure-seekers, known as "Taklamakanchis," who are to be found all along the fringe of the great desert; ragged, ever-hopeful men of the tramp type who spend their lives ransacking the remains of ancient Buddhist tombs and temples far out among the sands of the Takla Makan. Occasionally these men find a few coins or seals or flakes of gold-leaf used in decoration; but I never heard of any one of them becoming rich in the process. From the archæological point of view, the activities of the ubiquitous Taklamakanchis cut both ways; Stein acknowledges many debts to them, including assistance, direct or indirect, in the discovery of his chief sites; but he had far oftener to deplore the damage done by them to tombs and temples, stupas and dwelling-houses.

Zawa, 23rd November, 1922.

We are no longer in "Kashgaria" now; we are in the ancient land of Khotan, the "Kingdom of Jade." There is a distinct edge-of-the-desert feel about the countryside, fertile and closely-cultivated though it is. You notice it first when you come to Goma after the long desert stretch from Karghalik. You are getting further east; the great Takla Makan on your left hand is nearly at its broadest; the Kunlun on your right is an arid range. Now and again, quite unexpectedly, you come upon a belt of desert or a village islanded in sand; for here, as in Kansu far to the east, the inexorable "Gobi"—the word means merely "desert"—is encroaching from the north-west, pushing the thin line of cultivation back against the fifteen-hundred mile-long wall of Tibet. One whole village we passed was in its death-throes; a spear-head of dunes from the north had pinned it against the barren foothills, and all the houses had been abandoned except two or three to which the owners still clung pathetically though the sand was heaped right up to the roof. The loess soil in these parts, though apparently no less prolific when watered, is lighter both in weight and in colour than the yellow loess of Kashgar. The climate is evidently warmer, as one would expect, for the houses of the poor are all of wattles plastered with mud, unlike the solid mud-brick structures of the Kashgar oasis. The people too are more vivacious and excitable, as befits the south; one notices it at once in the small boys, whose enterprise and cheekiness in pursuit of a *tamasha* (*e.g.* a foreign traveller and his wife) has to be seen to be believed. The inhabitants of the southern oases are great pigeon-lovers. Outside every farm-house you will see tall poles with cross-poles at the top and rows of fat pigeons roosting on them at sunset. If you sprinkle grain on the sand at the *Kapiar Mazar* or Pigeon Shrine of Qum-rabat Padshahim (literally, My King's Castle in the Sand) in the desert between Goma and Khotan, thousands of pigeons will stream out to meet you, a sort of Milky Way of pigeons, and the sound of their cooing and of their myriad wings is like the sea.

Khotan, 24th November, 1922.

This afternoon, eight miles from Khotan, we stopped at an ornate building opening off the bazaar of a small town. The masons were still at work and a stone-carver was chiselling away at a lengthy inscription in Turki on the outer face of the gateway. The legend

[1] [i.e. Goma on the Takla Makan- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

them a few years ago. It was a pity that bad visibility and shortage of time prevented plane-tabling in this region, so that I was unable to supplement Sir Aurel Stein's map by fitting into it a traverse of our route, which except for 14 miles in the Chighmen and Suget Jilghas was one which had not previously been followed by Sir Aurel or any other explorer.

Leaving Yarkand on 2nd April we spent the night at Qaraul Jash, 15 miles to the south-west of the city, as the guests of the British Aqsaqal, who had estates in that neighbourhood. Next day we plunged into the barren foothills of the Qizil Tagh. A long and hot march brought us to the only water in the region, b ackish but just drinkable, a spring called Achiq Yusuf Qadir Khan. Here we camped thirstily, leaving at an early hour next morning in order to reach sweet water as soon as possible. It was not till three in the afternoon, however, that we crossed the last range of hills and found ourselves quite suddenly in the Chighmen Jilgha, a long valley which comes down from the inmost fastnesses of the Red Mountains and eventually debouches near Qizil Bazar on the Yarkand-Kashgar road. What a treat it was to come suddenly on a crystal, ice-cold stream and a little mill among willows just showing their spring green! It was too early to halt and we filed up the valley, passing croft after croft of the Kirghiz' rough stone-built huts with steeply-terraced cornfields now just beginning to be ploughed with the help of water carried along the hill-side in narrow channels. For these were "farmer Kirghiz" as we called them, not the pastoral, *aq-oi*-inhabiting Kirghiz of the higher mountains. Here are no great flocks and herds as on the high pastures of the Pamirs or the Tien Shan; only a few sheep and goats nibbling the scanty weeds along the rocky banks of the stream, guarded by tawny, thick-furred dogs. We stopped at a croft slightly larger than the rest to talk to the local Qazi, a typical thin-bearded, high-cheek-boned old Kirghiz, who earnestly begged us to pitch our tents on one or other of his pocket-handkerchief fields and be his guests. We spared the old man and pushed on another mile and a half, camping on a sheltered patch of grass in a bend of the stream-bed, 7,000 feet up.

Next day we contented ourselves with a half-march of nine miles only and camped at the tiny Kirghiz settlement of Suget Ayaghi, near the outlet of the Suget Valley, an upper branch of the Chighmen. The first inhabitants we saw in this valley were four tiny tots of children whom we surprised

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

horns.[1] The seven families at Kaying Bashi keep about 25 yaks, 10 ponies, 30 head of ordinary cattle and half a dozen camels, besides a few animals owned by the inhabitants of the side-glens of Sarigh Yon and Ghorumda. The total number of sheep and goats in the valley, I was told, is between 3,000 and 4,000.

There are no houses (*tām*) in the Kaying Jilgha, only a few shelters made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks (*kotan*). The tents (*aq-oi*) used by the Kirghiz, though smaller and poorer, are similar to those described by Miss Sykes in the Russian Pamirs.[2] The average size and condition of the tents varies greatly in different regions; we found much larger and more elaborate ones in the neighbourhood of Little L. Qarakul in the Chinese Pamirs; those we saw in the Tien Shan north-east of Kashgar, again, were smaller and less ornate but more solid, with thicker layers of felts and not nearly so draughty.

A light tent like the *aq-oi* with a roof shaped like a flattened dome and covered with felts which are far from waterproof, even when sound, is quite unsuited to the wet and stormy climate of the Alps of Qungur. That the inhabitants should have kept to it, refusing to build houses for themselves like the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, is a remarkable instance of tenacious adhesion to ancestral habits. They have one great advantage, however, over the inhabitants of the comparatively dry Pamirs; instead of the small quantities of dried plants and dung which are the only fuel to be had in the latter region, they have unlimited firewood of the best quality, fir, juniper, etc., all round them. In cold or wet weather you will always find a roaring fire in an *aq-oi*, and right welcome it is. The problem of keeping the circular aperture in the roof, which does

[1] A Kashgar dealer will pay as much as 2½ or 3 taels (6*s*. 8*d*.–8*s*.) for a first-class red fox skin; ibex and stag horns are used by the Chinese in the concoction of certain medicines and dopes.

[2] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 115–16. The figures given by Miss Sykes for the cost of an *aq-oi* are very much higher than in the Qaratash valley. I was told that the forty curved roof-poles and sections of trellis which compose the framework of an *aq-oi* cost 2 tengas (4*d*.) each, and the felts, when new, from 8 to 15 taels between them (21*s*. 4*d*.–£2). The camel-hair ropes and long strips of woollen webbing (*taghar*) with which the framework is bound together under the felts are all home-made, but could be bought for three or four taels; total say £2–£3. Probably Miss Sykes' figures include the carpets, screens, bolsters, etc., with which an *aq-oi* is furnished; these, if the owner is rich, may be worth large sums.

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342 duty as a chimney, open during heavy rain is solved in an ingenious fashion. The felt cover is pulled almost but not quite over it; the corner of the felt opposite to the direction from which the rain is coming is then lifted on the end of a forked pole away from the rim of the "chimney," thus making a kind of vertical ventilator facing away from the rain. The other end of the forked pole is held firmly in mid-air by means of guy-ropes attached to the sides of the tent. *Aq-ois* stand a gale very well, their shape being such that the higher the wind the more firmly the structure is pressed to the ground; I never heard of one being blown away. To make assurance doubly sure, however, a large stone is sometimes placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof anchored to it by a rope.

The putting together of the *aq-ois* is always done by the women, who are remarkably quick about it. I have seen a large one put up by two girls in half an hour. A middle-sized *aq-oi* forms three camel- or yak-loads when taken down. For short distances it can be moved bodily by ten or twelve men, who range themselves round the *inside* of the structure and lift it at a given signal. As they cannot see where they are going, they have to be steered by some one outside.

353 The interior of a typical *aq-oi* is full of interest. A fire burns merrily in the middle and a cauldron of *mach* simmers gently upon it. Farthest from the door is the *ashkhana* or kitchen, screened off from the rest of the hut by gaily-coloured mats made of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. In this sanctum the goodwife keeps her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls; it is really a dairy, not a kitchen. Another arc of the circle is occupied by a row of very young lambs, which lie or stand tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. In wet weather the young lambs, if any, are kept most of the day inside the tents; once when I took refuge for the night in an *aq oi* and threw myself down upon the felt which had been spread for me, I was astonished to feel what I thought was a pillow under the top end of the rug move when I put my head on it; it was a solitary lamb, very woolly and very surprised.

352 Round the walls, from the convenient pegs provided by the upper ends of the trellis, hang all kinds of odds and ends; *bashtiks* or bright-hued saddle-bags of patchwork or painted leather, sieves, fur-rimmed hats, big balls of newly-spun wool, skins full of curds, hatchets, *chapans* or quilted coats and so on. There will usually be a *dotar* or long-stemmed guitar made from a gourd, and an ancient matchlock of immense length with a

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do those of Qungur. The foot of the Oitagh Glacier is only 8,800 feet above the sea, as against an average of 12,000 feet in the case of the smaller and much less steeply-pitched glaciers of the Qaratash basin. The volume of the Oitagh Glacier is really enormous, but its ice-fall is so steep that the whole glacier is barely 4 miles long. It has several remarkable features. One is its tributary, the Bül Ush, which butts into it from the north-west near its foot, pushing it right across the valley and jamming it against the steep south-western side. A depression about 150 feet deep is thus formed above the bulge, and into this falls the moraine-stream, which travels under the ice for a mile and reappears from a remarkable cave in the black ice of the glacier-foot. Before joining the main glacier, the Bul Ush runs parallel with but about 2,000 feet immediately above it. A series of magnificent water-falls descends from the upper glacier to the lower at this point; one of them is at least 500 feet high and falls clear like the Swiss Staubbach, while another spouts out from a cleft in the cliff like tea from a pot. Yet another feature of the Oitagh glacier is its three parallel lateral moraines, one of which has a double edge with a trough 2–4 feet deep between.

The vegetation of the "alcove" at the head of the Oitagh valley, though of the same Tien Shan type, is altogether richer than that of the Alps of Qungur, doubtless owing to the lower elevation and to the shelter afforded by the tremendous precipices which enclose it on every side but the north-east. We had no rain, but from the appearance of the vegetation, the accounts of the inhabitants and the close proximity of the ice-clad mass of Chakragil I should say that the precipitation is at least as heavy as that of Kaying Bashi. Rowan-trees are more common and have great bunches of berries the size of small cherries: wild currants abound, and the conifers grow more densely if not taller. One fallen giant I measured was 112 feet long.

At the summer grazings the Turki "Taghlik" inhabitants, of Pilal occupy *aq-ois* like the Kirghiz, just as do the Tajiks of Sarikol who are racially totally different from either. They graze all kinds of stock, including yaks, which they breed for the Kashgar meat market, not for riding or milk. The Kashgar military authorities put from 25 to 50 horses out to grass up the valley every summer. The inhabitants of the *jilgha* are assessed for revenue at 500 *charaks* of barley, which can

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

563 4. Literature
538 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
[173] from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[212] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History
175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
[167] a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20

whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no security in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pattern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an element of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various households is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary population. Many children, especially sons, are considered a manifestation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [349] [531] [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits, such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [991] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 342 352 353 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 262 252 b. Food

Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

563 The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
181 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
[614] them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[342] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[251] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[796] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[798] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hāna, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

[251] The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.

The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a combination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combination of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance, boasting a small Government Official who also controls the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer. We were warned that at this season people were dying from heat, and that the inhabitants protected themselves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning